

## Message Text

PAGE 01 STATE 291400  
ORIGIN NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 R

66011  
DRAFTED BY S/S:DANDERSON:BABS  
APPROVED BY S/S:DANDERSON  
-----075262 070446Z /12  
O 070256Z DEC 77 ZFF4  
FM SECSTATE WASHDC  
TO WHITE HOUSE IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 291400

NODIS  
CHEROKEE FOR DR BRZEZINSKI ONLY

FOL RPT MOSCOW 17644 SENT ACTION SECSTATE DTD 06 DEC 77

QUOTE: S E C R E T MOSCOW 17644

NODIS

CHEROKEE

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: UR, US, XF  
SUBJECT: HABIB-GROMYKO MIDDLE EAST TALK - DECEMBER 6

1. HABIB MET DECEMBER 6 WITH GROMYKO TO CONTINUE TALKS  
BEGUN THE PREVIOUS DAY WITH DEPUTY MINISTER KOVALEV.  
THE PRINCIPLES ON THE SOVIET SIDE WERE FOREIGN MINISTER  
GROMYKO, DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER KOVALEV AND NEAR EASTERN  
COUNTRIES DEPARTMENT CHIEF MIKHAIL SYTENKO. ON THE  
AMERICAN SIDE PRINCIPLES WERE DEPUTY UNDER SECRETARY  
HABIB AND AMBASSADOR TOON. THE FOLLOWING IS THE FULL  
MEMORANDUM OF THE MEETING. IT WAS NOT CLEARED BY HABIB.  
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2. GROMYKO ASKED HABIB TO SET FORTH BRIEFLY THE AMERICAN  
POSITION, AND TO SAY WHETHER IT IS POSSIBLE TO FIND A  
SAFETY DEVICE TO SAVE THE GENEVA CONFERENCE. HABIB  
REPLIED THAT HE WOULD LIKE TO TAKE TO SECRETARY VANCE  
GROMYKO'S VIEWS ON WHERE WE GO FROM HERE AND HOW WE  
GET THERE. HE RELAYED SECRETARY VANCE'S DIS-  
APPOINTMENT WITH THE NEGATIVISM WITH WHICH THE  
USSR GREETED SADAT'S INITIATIVES AND ASSURED  
HIM THAT WHAT SADAT HAS DONE WITH BEGIN WAS  
WITHOUT A PUSH FROM OUR SIDE. WE LOOK UPON IT AS

SOMETHING WHICH CONTRIBUTES TO AND IS PART OF THE PEACE PROCESS AND WE SEE NO REASON TO BE NEGATIVE. GROMYKO SCARCASTICALLY REPLIED THAT IT WAS AN EFFORT TO KEEP FROM BURSTING OUT LAUGHTING AT THE IDEA THAT THE US WAS NOT INVOLVED IN SADAT'S STEP.

3. HABIB EXPLAINED THAT THE PROCESS WAS ALREADY IN TRAIN, THAT WE HAD SOME MISGIVINGS BUT WE BELIEVE THAT THIS IS NOT AT THE EXPENSE OF FINDING A WAY TO A COMPREHENSIVE MIDDLE EASTERN SETTLEMENT. THE REAL QUESTION IS: IS THE CAIRO MEETING, AND MORE IMPORTANTLY EGYPTIAN-ISRAELI CONTACT, USEFUL FOR THE PEACE PROCESS? THE U.S. WOULD LIKE TO MAKE IT USEFUL FOR THE PEACE PROCESS. WE KNOW THE SOVIETS CANNOT EMBRACE THE IDEA BUT WE HOPE THEY WILL GIVE IT A CHANCE AND WILL MINIMIZE THE NEGATIVISM. THE REJECTIONIST ARABS ARE NOT INTERESTED IN PEACE. THEIR MOVES ARE CONTRARY TO OUR POLICY AND, WE BELIEVE, TO THE SOVIETS' AS WELL. WE HOPE AND EXPECT THAT SADAT'S INITIATIVE AND THE CAIRO MEETING WHICH BEGINS DECEMBER 14 WILL PRODUCE SOMETHING USEFUL. OUR EXPECTATION IS THAT IT WILL DISCUSS QUESTIONS OF  
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PRINCIPLE AND PROCEDURE. THE US WILL SEND SOMEONE BUT NOT TO DOMINATE THE MEETING. WE WILL CONTINUE TO KEEP THE SOVIETS INFORMED THROUGH OUT DIPLOMATIC CHANNELS.

4. WE HAVE, SAID HABIB, SOME DIFFERENCES ON PROCEDURE AND ORGANIZATIONAL MATTERS REGARDING THE GENEVA CONFERENCE. SOME OF OUR DIFFERENCES ARE SIGNIFICANT, OTHERS ARE NOT SO DIFFICULT. AN EXAMPLE OF A DIFFICULT QUESTION IS THE ISSUE OF PARTICIPATION BY THE PLO AS THE USSR PUTS IT OR BY THE PALESTINIAN ARABS AS WE PUT IT. A LESS DIFFICULT PROBLEM IS THE QUESTION OF HOW EXACTLY TO ORGANIZE WORKING GROUPS. HABIB REFUSED TO ACCEPT THE PROPOSITION THAT THE CO-CHAIRMEN SHOULD PARTICIPATE IN THE DECISION-MAKING PROCESS THROUGH CONCURRENCE IN EVERY DECISION, NOTING THAT WE SEEK TO BRING ABOUT AGREEMENTS BETWEEN THE COUNTRIES CONCERNED.

5. WE CONTINUE TO BE GUIDED BY THE PRINCIPLES SET FORTH IN OUR JOINT STATEMENT, HABIB SAID. BEFORE THE SADAT VISIT TO JERUSALEM WE SOUGHT TO CONVENE THE GENEVA CONFERENCE WITHIN THE TERMS OF THE JOINT STATEMENT BUT SOME PARTIES WERE NOT WILLING TO MAKE MOVES NECESSARY TO COMPLETE THE PEACE PROCESS. WE MUST CARRY ON THIS PROCESS WITHIN THE PRINCIPLES OF THE JOINT STATEMENT; WE WILL MAINTAIN THOSE PRINCIPLES.

6. GROMYKO REMINDED HABIB THAT WHEN THE SOVIETS WERE WORKING OUT THE JOINT STATEMENT WITH THE US, ON BEHALF OF THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP HE STATED THAT THE SOVIETS WANTED A COMMON PLATFORM WHICH WOULD MOVE TOWARD A MIDDLE EASTERN SETTLEMENT AND ESPECIALLY TOWARD RECONVENING THE GENEVA CONFERENCE. HE RECALLED THAT IN THE JOINT STATEMENT SOME POINTS

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WHOSE SIGNIFICANCE WERE ESPECIALLY IMPORTANT FOR THE SOVIET SIDE WERE OMITTED. BUT AT THAT TIME, HE SAID, WE WERE DEALING WITH THE BASIC PRINCIPLES FOR A RESOLUTION OF THE CONFLICT AND THE SOVIETS THOUGHT THESE WERE EXPRESSED IN A FAIRLY GOOD MANNER. THEY REPRESENTED A CONSIDERABLE JOINT SUCCESS AND THEY WORKED IN THE INTEREST OF THE INVOLVED PARTIES. GROMYKO ACKNOWLEDGED THAT FOLLOWING THE JOINT STATEMENT THERE WAS CONSIDERABLE CRITICISM AGAINST THE US ADMINISTRATION AND THAT THE ADMINISTRATION AND PRESIDENT CARTER PERSONALLY DEFENDED THE JOINT STATEMENT BUT HE THOUGHT WITHOUT TOO MUCH FERVOR. THE IMPORTANT POINT, HOWEVER, WAS THAT THE US THEN STARTED TO SURRENDER ITS POSITIONS. THIS WAS GRAPHICALLY ILLUSTRATED WHEN THERE WAS WORKED OUT WITH THE ISRAELIS A DOCUMENT WHICH DID NOT ACCORD WITH THE PRINCIPLES OF THE JOINT STATEMENT. WHEN THAT OCCURED, TOGETHER WITH OTHER DEVELOPMENTS, THINGS WENT "TOPSY-TURVY". REGARDING THE SADAT STEP HE CLAIMED FEW PEOPLE IN THE WORLD BELIEVE THAT IT COULD HAVE HAPPENED WITHOUT THE PRIOR KNOWLEDGE AND APPROVAL OF THE US; FEW PEOPLE IN THE WORLD WOULD BELIEVE THE ASSERTION THAT ISRAEL AND EGYPT JUST ENGINEERED THE MOVE AND THEN LATER THE US APPROVED. SINCE WHEN, HE ASKED, HAS THE US BECOME A MERE APPENDAGE OF ISRAEL? IT IS SENSELESS TO THINK THAT THE MOVE WAS NOT EARLIER PREPARED WITH US INVOLVEMENT. THE THE MOST IMPORTANT THING IS THAT THE US STAMP OF APPROVAL WAS SO DEMONSTRATIVE IT GAVE SUPPORT TO SUSPICION THAT THE WHOLE IDEA WAS TO EXPLODE THE GENEVA CONFERENCE BEFORE IT RECONVENED OR, TO PUT IT MORE ACCURATELY, BEFORE IT RESUMED ITS' DELIBERATIONS. ASIDE FROM THIS, ALMOST EVERY DAY

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BEGIN, AND MORE IMPORTANTLY SADAT, WORKED TO BESMERCH THE IDEA OF THE GENEVA CONFERENCE. SADAT LEAVES NO DOUBT THAT HE WANTS A SEPARATE DEAL WITH ISRAEL. THE IMPORTANT THING IS THAT THIS RUNS GROSSLY COUNTER TO THE IDEAS THE SOVIETS DISCUSSED

WITH THE US AS CO-CHAIRMEN AND WHICH FOUND THEIR  
EXPRESSION IN THE JOINT STATEMENT. A DAY OR TWO  
AGO SADAT DECLARED THAT IF THERE WAS NO GENEVA  
CONFERENCE ATTENDED BY OTHERS, HE AND BEGIN WOULD  
GO ALONE. THAT WOULD AMOUNT TO A SEPARATE DEAL  
FOR EGYPT AND ISRAEL. TO CALL THAT A GENEVA  
CONFERENCE IS LIKE CALLING A CHICKEN A FISH.  
IT WOULD BE PURELY BILATERAL. IT WOULD  
BE THE BURIAL OF THE GENEVA CONFERENCE. WHY, HE  
ASKED DO US REPRESENTATIVES TRY TO PRETEND THAT  
THIS SUPPORTS THE GENEVA CONFERENCE? THE SOVIETS  
CANNOT ACCEPT THIS OBLITERATION OF WHAT HAD BEEN  
ACHIEVED BY HARD WORK. THE US DECLARED AND THE  
SOVIETS SUPPORTED THE IDEA THAT A COMMON FRONT FOR  
A JUST SETTLEMENT TO MEET THE INTERESTS OF THE  
EGYPTIANS, ISRAELIS, SYRIANS AND JORDANIANS AND  
PALESTINIANS, IN SHORT ALL THOSE CONCERNED. THE  
SOVIET UNION CONSULTING WITH CONCERNED ARABS IN  
ACCORD WITH THE JOINT STATEMENT PROCEEDED FROM THE  
ASSUMPTION THAT THE US ADMINISTRATION WOULD REMAIN  
DEDICATED TO THIS STATEMENT. WHERE IT WAS NEEDED  
SOVIET INFLUENCE WAS BROUGHT TO BEAR, HE ASSERTED.  
THE SOVIETS SOUGHT TO PERSUADE OTHERS TO TAKE  
PROPER STEPS AS THE U.S. KNOWS. THEN THE USSR REALIZED  
THAT THE U.S. ADMINISTRATION WAS PROCEEDING FROM A  
DIFFERENT BASIS IN ITS APPROACH AND IT DOES NOT KNOW  
WHAT U.S. PRINCIPLES AND HOPES ARE OR WHERE IT IS  
GOING. LIKE IT OR NOT, IT HAS CAST A SHADOW ON  
GENERAL RELATIONS BETWEEN THE U.S. AND THE SOVIET  
UNION. THIS IS REGRETTABLE BUT, HE SAID, HE WAS NOT  
SAYING THAT THIS WILL AFFECT THE PROGRESS IN NEGO-  
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TIATIONS ON OTHER MATTERS. THOSE PROBLEMS ARE  
INDEPENDENT AND TO SUGGEST OTHERWISE WOULD BE  
UNDIGNIFIED.

7. AS FOR THE CHANCES OF RECONVENING THE GENEVA  
CONFERENCE, LOOK AT THE RESULTS OF THE TRIPOLI  
MEETING, GROMYKO SAID. THIS WAS A DIRECT PRODUCT  
OF THE STEPS BY SADAT AND BEGIN. DID THE U.S. MIS-  
CALCULATE? DID THE U.S. PUT THE EGYPTIAN/ISRAELI  
RELATIONSHIP ON A HIGHER PLANE THAT THE GENEVA  
CONFERENCE? LOOK AT WHAT HAS HAPPENED IN THE  
MIDDLE EAST. THE ARABS HAVE SPLIT DEEPLY AND THIS  
SHOULD CONCERN THE U.S. AS IT DOES THE USSR. WHAT  
WAS ACCOMPLISHED WAS PUSHED ASIDE AND THE USSR DOES  
NOT KNOW HOW THE SITUATION WILL BE REMEDIED. EVERY-  
THING SHOULD BE DONE TO RECONVENE THE GENEVA  
CONFERENCE. WE ALL NEED TO GO TO THE GENEVA CONFERENCE  
ON AN EQUAL BASIS - ESPECIALLY THE PALESTINIANS WHO  
CAN BE REPRESENTED BY NON ONE EXCEPT THE PLO. THERE

IS NO OTHER LEGAL REPRESENTATIVE OF THE PALESTINIANS EXCEPT THE PLO; NO PROFESSOR; NO ONE EXCEPT THE PLO. REGARDING THE ROLE OF CO-CHAIRMEN IT IS A HIGH RESPONSIBILITY, A DUTY. THE SOVIET UNION DOES NOT CARE ABOUT THE HONORS, THE LAURELS, THAT COME WITH THE TITLE. IT TOOK THE ROLE SO AS TO FACILITATE MOVEMENT.

8. MANY TIMES GROMYKO SAID, ON BEHALF OF THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP, INCLUDING BREZHNEV, HE HAD WARNED KISSINGER, FORMER PRESIDENT FORD, SECRETARY VANCE AND PRESIDENT CARTER THAT THE SOVIET UNION WILL NOT AGREE TO BEING USED AS A SHIELD, AS A COVER, FOR SEPARATE DEALS BETWEEN ISRAEL AND ONE OR ANOTHER SECRET

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ARAB COUNTRY. THE USSR WILL NOT BE INVOLVED IN DOUBLE DEALING SINCE IT CONDUCTS MATTERS ON AN HONEST BASIS. WHETHER THE U.S. WANTS TO DO ITS BEST TO RECONSTRUCT THE SITUATION OR NOT, IS A QUESTION. GROMYKO DID NOT SEE MUCH GROUND FOR OPTIMISM.

9. FROM HABIB'S CONSERVATIONS WITH KOVALEV AND FROM HIS PRESENTATION ON THE ROLE OF THE CO-CHAIRMEN THE INSTITUTION SEEMS TO HAVE BCEOM EPHEMERAL, TO HAVE ERODED, TO HAVE BECOME AN ILLUSION, GROMYKO THOUGHT.

10. THE PALESTINIAN ISSUE SEEMS TO HAVE BEEN REMOVED FROM THE AGENDA, HE SAID, AND PROFESSED NOT TO SEE MUCH POSSIBLE WITHOUT A DRASTIC CHANGE IN THE ATTITUDE OF THE U.S. HE SAID THE U.S. IS IN A POSITION TO CALL A SPADE A SPADE WITH THE ISRAELIS, TO SET THEM ON THE RIGHT TRACK THROUGH MANY MEANS AT ITS DISPOSAL. THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP, INCLUDING BREZHNEV, HAS NO INTENTION OF DROWNING ISRAEL IN THE SEA. ISRAEL WOULD CONTINUE TO LIVE AND TO DEVELOP AS AN INDEPENDENT SOVEREIGN NATION AND SO IT SHOULD BE WITH THE PALESTINIANS. THEY MUST HAVE THEIR OWN HOMEM

11. HABIB RESPONDED THAT HE WOULD REPORT GROMYKO'S VIEWS TO SECRETARY VANCE, BUT WISHED TO REPLY BRIEFLY. AFTER THE JOINT STATEMENT THE U.S. MOVED WITH ALL THE PARTIES, AND NOTHING THAT THE U.S. DID WAS INCONSISTENT WITH THE PRINCIPLES OF THE JOINT STATEMENT. THE U.S. DID THINGS IN ORDER TO ADVANCE THE PEACE PROCESS SO AS TO GET TO A GENEVA CONFERENCE. REGARDING GROMYKO'S STATEMENT ABOUT MATTERS BEING "TOPSY-TURVY", HABIB SAID THE U.S. DID MOVE AFTER THE JOINT STATEMENT AND WAS MAKING SOME MODEST PROGRESS. IT WAS TALKING TO ALL PARTIES AND MATTERS WERE MOVING BUT THE PROGRESS WAS VERY SLOW AND FRANKLY IT SEEMED

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THAT THE SOVIETS WERE NOT USING THEIR INFLUENCE VERY STRONGLY. THEN SADAT MADE HIS MOVES. HABIB SAID HE WAS GLAD TO HEAR THAT PERHAPS A FEW PEOPLE IN THE WORLD DO NOT THINK THAT THE U.S. WAS COLLUDING WITH ISRAEL AND SADAT AND HE HOPED THAT GROMYKO WAS ONE OF THOSE PEOPLE.

12. REGARDING GROMYKO'S STATEMENT ABOUT U.S. APPROVAL OF SADAT'S INITIATIVES NOT BEING VERY DEMONSTRATIVE, HABIB URGED GROMYKO TO REMEMBER THAT THE ADMINISTRATION WAS SEVERELY CRITICIZED AT HOME. THE U.S. TALKED WITH ALL PARTIES INCLUDING THE USSR. THERE IS NOTHING WRONG WITH PARTIES TALKING WITH EACH OTHER IF IT IS IN THE INTEREST OF THE PEACE PROCESS AND IF THEY DECLARE THAT THIS IS PART OF A COMPREHENSIVE SETTLEMENT. THE U.S. SUPPORTS A COMPREHENSIVE SETTLEMENT AND IS NOT DECEIVING THE USSR. IT WANTS A FORMULATION FROM WHICH IT COULD MOVE USEFULLY AND USE IT IN SUCH A WAY THAT IT WILL ENHANCE THE CURRENT PROCES. JUST AS THE USSR CONSULTED OTHERS, THE U.S. ALSO CONSULTED WITH THE ARABS.

13. HABIB SAID HE WAS GLAD TO HEAR GROMYKO SAY THAT THERE IS NO REASON WHY OUR DIFFERENCES ON THE MIDDLE EAST SHOULD AFFECT OTHER MATTERS SINCE HE WAS TOLD TO STRESS THIS SAME POINT.

14. REGARDING RESUMPTION OF THE GENEVA CONFERENCE, HABIB SAID TO LOOK AT REALITY; THE TRIPOLI MEETING WAS NOT HELPFUL. THERE WAS ONLY ONE SIGNIFICANT COUNTRY THERE. GROMYKO INTERRUPTED THAT TRIPOLI WAS NOT THE CAUSE BUT THE RESULT. THE ARABS NEED TO SORT  
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OUT THEIR DIFFERNCES, HABIB CONTINUED, AND HE DID NOT EXPECT THE USSR TO CONVINCE LIBYA OR IRAQ ABOUT THE PEACE PROCESS. THEY ARE OPPOSED. BUT THE U.S. DOES THINK THAT SYRIA IS RECEPTIVE. RESPONSIND TO GROMYKO'S QUESTION HABIB SAID THE IRAQIS OPPOSED PEACE AND CALLED FOR THE ELIMINATION OF ISRAEL. THEY ARE IRRELEVANT AMONG SERIOUS PEOPLE.; ONE CANNOT BUILD PEACE ON THE BASIS OF AN ARAB SPLIT. THIS IS NOT OUR OBJECTIVE. THE U.S. BELIEVES THAT DIFFERENCES AMONG RESPONSIBLE ARAB COUNTRIES CAN BE ADJUSTED SO AS TO BRING ABOUT A GENEVA CONFERENCE.

15. REGARDING THE PLO, HABIB SAID HE EXPLAINED

YESTERDAY THAT THE U.S. TRIED TO DEVELOP A CREATIVE FORMULA FOR PALESTINIAN REPRESENTATION IN THE SPIRIT OF THE JOINT STATEMENT. WE HAVE A CERTAIN DEGREE OF UNDERSTANDING - A VALID AMBIGUITY THAT WE COULD USE AS A MEANS TO GET TO GENEVA. IT'S QUITE SIMPLE. IF THE USSR INSISTS ON THE PLO AS THE REPRESENTATIVES, ISRAEL WILL NOT GO AND THERE IS NO WAY TO FORCE IT. THEREFORE, THE U.S. HAS TRIED TO A DYNAMIC PROCEDURE SO THAT THE PALESTINIANS COULD BE REPRESENTED. GROMYKO INTERRUPTED TO SAY THAT ONE LOCK ALONE CLOSES THE DOOR. HABIB REPLIED THAT THERE ARE DIFFERENT KEYS TO OPEN DIFFERENT LOCKS; MAYBE A RUSSIAN/ U.S. KEY. THERE IS NO SUCH KEY, SAID GROMYKO, HABIB RESPONDED THAT THE PALESTINIAN QUESTION MUST BE ON THE AGENDA. TO WHICH GROMYKO SAID, THAT IS TOO VAGUE A FORMULA. HABIB POINTED OUT THAT THE U.S. SUCCEEDED IN GETTING THE ISRAELI TO AGREE ON A UNIFIED ARAB DELEGATION WITH PALESTINIAN REPRESENTATION AND TO AGREE THAT THE PALESTINIAN QUESTION MUST BE DEALT WITH IN THE GENEVA CONFERENCE FRAMEWORK. THAT WOULD HAVE BEEN IMPOSSIBLE A FEW YEARS AGO. THE U.S. ALSO AGREED THAT WE SHOULD SHARE OVERALL RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE GENEVA CONFERENCE AND IN THE U.S. VIEW WE HAVE SHOWN THAT  
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SENSE OF RESPONSIBILITY. THE U.S. IS NOT TRYING TO USE THE USSR AS A SHIELD; THAT WOULD NOT WORK ANYWAY.

16. HABIB NOTED THAT REGARDING THE NEXT STEPS THERE ARE TWO SIGNIFICANT DEVELOPMENTS: THE CAIRO MEETING AND SECRETARY VANCE'S TRIP. THERE IS NOTHING IN THESE MOVES WHICH IS NOT ENCOMPASSED IN THE JOINT STATEMENT. WHEN THEY ARE COMPLETED THE U.S. WILL TALK WITH THE USSR AND SEE WHAT BASIS THERE IS FOR THE PEACE PROCESS. CONTRARY TO GROMYKO, HABIB SAW NO NEED FOR A DRASTIC CHANGE IN THE U.S. POSITION SINCE U.S. ACTIONS ARE IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE JOINT STATEMENT. GROMYKO ASSERTED THAT NOT EVERYTHING WAS SAID IN THE JOINT STATEMENT AND THAT SOMEBODY MUST AS SOMETIME RESOLVE THESE THINGS.

17. GROMYKO WENT ON TO SAY THAT SADAT, AND OTHERS, KEEP ON DECLARING THAT IF THE USSR ACCEPTS THE PATH ON WHICH HE AND BEGIN HAVE STARTED THEN THE USSR WILL BE ELBOWED OUT OF THE MIDDLE EAST AND ITS INFLUENCE WILL BE DIMINISHED AND ENTIRELY ELIMINATED. TO SAY THE LEAST, THIS A VERY NAIVE, AND ONLY A POLITICIAN WHO CANNOT SEE A YARD FARTHER THAN HIS NOSE WOULD SPEAK THIS WAY. GROMYKO HOPED THAT THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT DOES NOT, AND WILL NOT, THINK THIS WAY. SURELY SOVIET INFLUENCE IN THE MIDDLE EAST OR ANY OTHER PLACE - ESPECIALLY THOSE AREAS CLOSE TO IT -

DOES NOT FLOW ONLY FROM THE SUPPLY OF ITS ARMS, TANKS, AMMUNITION, OR INDUSTRIAL SYSTEMS; IT STEMS FROM THE SOVIET POSITION IN THE WORLD AS A COUNTRY, AS A WORLD POWER. TO TAKE THAT KIND OF ATTITUDE WOULD BE TANTAMOUNT TO SAYING FOR INSTANCE THAT THE INFLUENCE OF THE UNITED STATES COULD BE ELIMINATED FROM DIRECTLY  
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ADJACENT AREAS. THIS WOULD CONTRADICT THE FACT OF U.S. EXISTENCE AS A WORLD POWER. HE NOTED THAT HE HAD NEVER HEARD THE U.S. REPUDIATE THIS THINKING. MORE-OVER, HE SAID, SOVIET INFLUENCE IN THE MIDDLE EAST IS USED TOWARD GOOD PURPOSE, TOWARD FACILITATING THE RECONVENING OF THE GENEVAL CONFERENCE TO SOLVE THE MIDDLE EAST PROBLEM, INCLUDING THE QUESTION OF ARAB PARTICIPATION AN A UNIFIED ARAB DELEGATION.

18. THE USSR HAD USED ITS INFLUENCE ALWAYS FOR PEACE, SAID GROMYKO, INCLUDING THE EXISTENCE OF ISRAEL AS AN INDEPENDENT AND SOVEREIGN STATE. ISRAELI POLITICIANS SEEM TO BE IN SUCH A BEFOGGED STATE THAT THEY SEE SOVIET DOUBLE-DEALINGS IN EVERYTHING THAT GOES ON AROUND ISRAEL. BUT FROM THE DAY OF ITS BIRTH, THE USSR, LIKE THE U.S., RECOGNIZED THE RIGHT OF ISRAELI'S EXISTENCE AS JEWISH STATE IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND HAS ALWAYS SUPPORTED IT, DESPITE THIS HISTORICAL ENIGMA OF BLACK INGRATITUDE BY ISRAEL TOWARD THE USSR. THIS IS ONE OF THE GREATEST ENIGMAS OF HISTORY, HE SAID. THE ISRAELIS TENT TO SPEAK OUT WITH BRAVADO CONCERNING THE USSR AS A GREAT POWER. THEY SAY THEY DON'T NEED GUARANTEES. THEY SAY THEY RELY ON THEIR GUNS AND PLANES LOCATED IN VARIOUS PARTS OF THE LAND. GIVEN THE CURRENT STATE OF TECHNOLOGY AND THE CURRENT SITUATION MERE GUNS AND PLANES DO NOT GUARANTEE THE EXISTENCE OF ISRAEL. MAYBE THE UNITED STATES HAS NOT EXPLAINED THIS TO THEM PROPERLY.

19. HABIB ANSWERED THAT THE U.S. HAS NOT SOUGHT TO EXCLUDE THE SOVIET UNION FROM THE PEACE PROCESS IN THE MIDDLE EAST. THIS HAS BEEN ONE OF PRESIDENT CARTER'S PRIMARY APPROACHES TO A MIDDLE EASTERN SETTLEMENT. ALL THAT THE U.S. ASKS IS THAT THE USSR, LIKE TO U.S., SEEK TO PLAY A CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE.  
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WE HAVE MUTUAL INTERESTS AS WORLD POWERS AND THEY SHOULD BE USED JOINTLY TO ENHANCE THE PEACE PROCESS; THE REJECTIONISTS CANNOT BE PERMITTED TO DOMINATE THE PROCESS. FOR YEARS WE HAVE TRIED TO GET THE



ARABS AND ISRAELIS TO TALK WITH EACH OTHER, SAID HABIB, AND HE HOPED THAT NEITHER THE USSR NOR THE U.S. WILL EVER LINE UP WITH THE REJECTIONISTS. WE MUST RESTORE A CONSENSUS REGARDING THE ISSUES WHICH NEED TO BE SETTLED. THERE NEEDS TO BE A GENERAL EFFORT TO BRIDGE THE GAPS.

20. GROMYKO CLAIMED THAT SENDING U.S. REPRESENTATIVE TO CAIRO IS ANOTHER NEGATIVE FACT. BUT HABIB RESPONDED THAT THE U.S. COULD NOT HAVE REFUSED AND THAT GROMYKO AS A PRACTICAL MAN WOULD UNDERSTAND THIS. THE U.S. HAS NOT DEPARTED FROM THE PRINCIPLES SET FORTH IN THE JOINT STATEMENT. MAYBE SOMETHING WILL COME OUT OF THE CAIRO MEETING.

21. GROMYKO ASKED HABIB TO GIVE HIS GREETINGS TO THE SECRETARY AND TELL HIM THAT THE SOVIETS TAKE WITH BITTERNESS THIS CHANGE FOR THE WORSE. THE SOVIETS ARE FOR A FAVORABLE CHANGE WHICH CAN BE ACHIEVED ONLY BY RADICAL MEANS BUT NOT BY THE KIND OF BOLDNESS SADAT DEMONSTRATES. IN FACT HIS ACTION IS ONE OF COWARDICE. WE NEED VIGOR AND DETERMINATION IN CONDUCTING OURSELVES AS LEADERS. WE WERE MOVING, ALBEIT SLOWLY, TOWARD A GENEVA CONFERENCE, THE DATE OF WHICH WAS MOVED FORWARD SEVERAL TIMES. NOW THE MOVEMENT IS BACKWARDS AND THE QUESTION IS CAN THOSE WHO ARE RESPONSIBLE NOW REMEDY THE SITUATION. HABIB REPLIED THAT THE CURRENT MOVES WILL NOT NECESSARILY WORSEN THE SITUATION.

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22. HABIB URGED GROMYKO TO BE MORE FORTHCOMING WITH INFORMATION ON THE IRAQI POSITION AND ON THE KHADDAM VISIT (BUT TO NO AVAIL). HABIB THEN URGED GROMYKO NOT TO ALLOW SYRIA TO JOIN THE REJECTIONISTS. GROMYKO SAID ONLY THAT KHADDAM HAS HIS OWN POSITION, HIS POINT OF VIEW. SYRIA'S REACTION REGARDING THE SADAT STEP WAS EXPOUNDED UPON WITH NO PROMPTING ON THE SOVIETS' PART.

23. GROMYKO ARGUED THAT THE SADAT-BEGIN MEETING STARTED TO REVERSE THE TREND WHICH HAD BEEN RUNNING IN THE OPPOSITE DIRECTION FOR COMMON LANGUAGE, BASED ON THE JOINT STATEMENT, FOR THE RECONVENING OF THE GENEVA CONFERENCE. HABIB STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE OF NOT LETTING THE REJECTIONISTS BECOME DOMINANT. GROMYKO SAID TO TELL VANCE THAT THE USSR DID NOT CREATE THIS NEW SITUATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND THAT THOSE WHO CREATED IT AND THOSE WITH WHOSE KNOWLEDGE IT WAS CREATED MUST WORK TO BRING ABOUT THE NECESSARY CHANGES. TOON UNQUOTE VANCE

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## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** Z  
**Capture Date:** 22-Sep-1999 12:00:00 am  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** POLITICAL SETTLEMENT, CAT-C, CHEROKEE 12-6-77, MEETING REPORTS,  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Sent Date:** 07-Dec-1977 12:00:00 am  
**Decaption Date:** 22 May 2009  
**Decaption Note:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 22 May 2009  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1977STATE291400  
**Document Source:** ADS  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** S/S:DANDERSON:BABS  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** 11652 GDS  
**Errors:** n/a  
**Expiration:**  
**Film Number:** N770008-0649  
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**From:** STATE  
**Handling Restrictions:**  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1977/newtext/t197712111/baaaaeuoz.tel  
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**Office:** ORIGIN NODS  
**Original Classification:** SECRET  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** NODIS ONLY  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 9  
**Previous Channel Indicators:**  
**Previous Classification:** SECRET  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** NODIS ONLY  
**Reference:** n/a  
**Retention:** 0  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 16-Mar-2005 12:00:00 am  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**SAS ID:** 119231  
**Secure:** LOCK1  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** HABIB-GROMYKO MIDDLE EAST TALK - DECEMBER 6  
**TAGS:** PBOR, PDEV, UR, US, XF, (HABIB, PHILIP C), (GROMYKO, ANDREY ANDREYEVICH),  
**To:** WHITE HOUSE  
**Type:** TE  
**vdkgvwkey:** odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS\_Docs/2cf45dfc-c188-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc  
**Review Markings:**  
Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
22 May 2009  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009